1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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practice makes it dangerous to eat raw vegetables, and most vegetables are cooked before eating.

VILLAGE COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

The Hsin Hsing area has had electricity since the early 1930's. When electricity first came to Hsin Hsing village, almost all of the villagers immediately took advantage of the opportunity. According to the older villagers, the electric company paid for the installation of poles and other parts, but many villagers found the cost of the electricity itself prohibitive and were forced to discontinue service. Later, some of the electric poles not in use were removed from parts of the village.

Today, well over half of the village households again have electricity, although in most cases there is a bare minimum of one or sometimes two lights to a household. The majority pay a small amount each month to the electric company, for which they are allowed one electric outlet or light; the electricity only comes on at night. But many of the villagers, by doing a little electrical work themselves, are able to manage more than one outlet. They are especially active during times of festivities when lights are needed in more than one room at a time. When most of the villagers engage in this kind of improvisation, the fuses for the whole village's electric supply often burn out, and the village may be left in darkness for a day or two or sometimes for as long as a week until the electric company is notified or until some young man replaces the fuses. At other times only a minimum of light is needed, and usually a single light is strung in the doorway between two rooms, for example, between the ancestral-worship room (*kung t'ing*) and the bedroom or kitchen, or wherever the family happens to be at the time.

There are four radios in the village, but not all of them are in working order at any one time. Two of them were obtained through public or government agencies; the village mayor was given one by the Hsiang Public Office, and the elected head of the Farmers' Association village unit received one from the association. Small groups of villagers often listen to these radios in the evening. The other two instruments in Hsin Hsing are privately owned. The villagers' favorite programs are the frequent broadcasts of the Taiwanese opera.

The mail system in Taiwan is quick and efficient, and the village has a daily mail delivery by a regular postman. Most of the mail coming into the village is from family members who have gone to such places as Taipei to work or from village men who are away on military service. A few newspapers come into the village each day through the mail. Like the radios, two newspapers are sent free of charge by the

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thiâ:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thiâ:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single kê, the kōng-thiâ: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental kê, the kōng-thiâ: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thiâ: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thiâ:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thiâ: and its

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

212 sixth-grade level material to a sample of villagers beyond age twenty who were primary school graduates. Although many were unable to read even half of it, several ran through it very quickly and easily. Functional illiteracy therefore is probably much higher than official [562] figures indicate, particularly in rural areas. Illiteracy is probably also higher among women than among men. Men are more apt to work where continued reading is necessary and this helps to maintain facility. Also, although school attendance is now equal for both sexes, more males than females attended schools in the past.

Clothing

291 177 Today, the clothing in Sanlei tends to be predominantly Western in form. Ready-made clothes are purchased in town or from itinerant peddlers. A village seamstress makes others.

291 177 A small child wears a kind of jumper, split at the crotch, so that when he squats, the split widens allowing 561 elimination without soiling his clothes. A standard uni- [855] form is worn to school: khaki trousers and shirts for [514] boys, skirts and blouses for girls, tennis shoes for both. In warm weather, except for school, most children go barefoot. On the way home from school, children may carry their school bags on one shoulder and tennis shoes slung over the other.

342 described above, do not permit this pattern of development while other village houses just deviate from the dominant pattern.

354 All but three village houses have electricity. Most houses have one outlet in each room while those with fewer outlets, maintain one in the kitchen and kung t'ing. One light is usually left burning all night in each house.

342 592 In order to indicate the kind and extent of household furnishings, a dwelling at the intermediate stage of development is indicated in Figure 4, i.e., the kung t'ing base of a planned "u" only is complete. In this household, fourteen people reside in a stem family consisting of a man and his wife, their son and his wife, and ten grandchildren. Their goal is expansion of the house into the previously described pattern as the descendants marry. Four of the grandchildren are male.

342 The house also reveals other typical patterns. Alternating rooms have an outside entrance and each room 342 may be reached from any other without going outside. Although separate out-houses were common in the past, there 514 is now a tendency to have a small attached room with a [177] Japanese ceramic toilet inside. In this case, human waste is discharged into a concrete pit which can be reached through a manhole outside. A house will also have an internal bucket collection system because most people do not like to go out at night.

512 [871] vacation period for the school alone marks significant changes in the patterns of behavior. Perhaps unexpectedly, mothers have more free time or at least more time to work in the fields during the school vacation periods because older children are available to care for their younger siblings. In spite of these problems, I will attempt a description of a "normal" day which might be described by a villager as a day when nothing much happened.

Midnight marks the beginning of the day. The village [354] is very quiet as no one appears to be awake. In almost all village houses, a single low-wattage bulb is burning in the kung t'ing or kitchen. Through the night, few people will [514] be seen. Four or five men may go outside to eliminate but most people use a chamber pot in the bedroom or kitchen if [625] it is necessary. During the New Year season or after a robbery, two men of the I Ching carrying sticks very quietly walk through the village every half hour. Periodically, their muted voices may be heard together with the other two men on the patrol and the female who prepares the tea and noodles in her kitchen. The village is quite dark since the bulbs emit but little light and the surrounding countryside is even darker, punctuated here and there with the scattered glows of light in surrounding villages.

[443] [515] [262] The first man to arise is the vegetable peddler at 3:30 a.m. After a quick wash with cold water in the kitchen and a meal of cold rice covered with pickles and spicy fish,

512 [518] [262] [443] [782] he peddles off in his three-wheeled cart alone for the city to arrive in the market by 5:15 a.m. About 4:00 a.m. the second man in the village is up and quickly heads for the temple carrying incense sticks and flowers for worship in fulfillment of a pledge to the gods for relieving his prostrate trouble. The noise he makes starts others stirring. [514] [515] As people rise, they usually head for the outhouse and then into the courtyard or kitchen to wash. The wash water is at air temperature and therefore, often chilly in the cool morning at dawn's light.

[296] [264] By 4:30 a.m., the first group of six women is off to the river to wash clothes together. They have eaten a handful of cold rice and will prepare and eat breakfast after they return about an hour later. By the end of the next [264] hour, there are few silent households. The active married women are up first and after ablutions, start the fire for breakfast although about one of five families will have a cold meal. Women are followed by the children, awakened by the noise in the kitchen. Few people are ever formally called and told it is time to get up. The active mature men are last to arise except for the occasional old person who may sleep until very late.

512 782 Before breakfast, a representative for each household worships in the kung t'ing with incense sticks. This is supposed to be the oldest male in the household but it appears that women perform the task about half the time. Although